

The Principia
Published Weekly, for the PRINCIPIA ASSOCIATION
at No. 101 William Street, near John St.
Rev. W. ALLEN, Editor.
Rev. Geo. B. CHEEVER, D. D., Editor.
J. W. ALLEN, Publisher.
TERMS: Two Dollars a Year, in Advance.
Single Copies, Ten Cents a Line for each insertion, payable in advance.
Advertisements amounting to:
\$20.00 20 per cent discount.
\$30.00 40 " "
\$40.00 50 " "
\$50.00 and upwards, 60 " "
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All checks or drafts should be made payable to "J. W. ALLEN, Publisher," or "J. W. ALLEN, Publisher," Box 4381, New-York.

THE WAR POWER AS ORDAINED OF GOD.
AND THE GUILT AND CONSEQUENCES OF DOING THE WORK OF THE LORD DEFEATFULLY.

Discourse by Rev. Dr. CHEEVER, in the Senate Chamber in Washington.

Part II.
We were therefore bound to execute justice and to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor. We ought to have made property in man impossible, and to have forbidden forever a crime. We ought to have crushed and annihilated this rebellion by smiting its cause and striking from existence its central fundamental iniquity.

III. Why have we not done this? Why have we refused to rise to such a position of justice and glory? In answering these questions, we are brought to the third point of consideration—namely, some of the reasons why God does not accompany his own commission of the power of the sword, and give it success. He cannot do this, if instead of wielding the sword for the purposes for which God has appointed it, we deny those purposes and repudiate our obligation to fulfill them.

The God that gave us government and freedom gives us the power of the sword, as a divine commission to sustain the government and protect the freedom, for all; and if we would wield the sword for God, God would never suffer us to be defeated.

But the moment we reverse these conditions, and throw aside the supreme right of God and the obligation of justice, the moment we take partnership and protection the very element of the rebellion, the element most impiously and directly against God and humanity, its arrogant right of slavery, that moment our own place is reversed, and we step down from our grand moral eminence to a level with the position of rebels. We cease to have God on our side, or to be exclusively on the side of God, the moment we suffer ourselves to be entangled in complicity with the atrocious crime of human slavery, the crime of individual and national sinning, on which this rebellion and attempted rebellion empire are grounded.

Had we drawn the sword at the outset for God, justice and freedom, we should have conquered at the outset; but we chose to be used for the power of the sword was not to be used for justice and against slavery; and so doing, we were short of our strength. We threw away our moral armament and weapon, as if we disdained to take such an advantage against the rebels; and consequently it was "set a thief to catch a thief," seventy-five thousand men on our side were better than seventy-five thousand men on theirs. Had we gone forth in the name of God for the freedom of the enslaved, the first seventy-five thousand would have been all the force needed, for that power of the sword would have been God's power. But we denied and excluded the moral power, and God's emancipating object, in the war, and the consequence was that with all our mighty superiority, after more than eighteen months fighting, the result still hung in doubt, and even now trembles in the balance.

It is actually a position, whether a nation of twenty millions of freemen is not about to yield itself up, with all its overwhelming preponderance of power, wealth, numbers, armaments of war, and all possible righteous prerogatives, if resting on the justice of its cause, and on the God of justice, to be destroyed by five millions of "poor white trash," led to rebellion by three hundred thousand slaveholders, for the supremacy and security of the practice of human slavery.

We have suffered this question to grow to a problem in the opinion of the world, by permitting the rebellion itself to grow to so gigantic an armed power, and to obtain in some sort the semblance of a just quarrel, through our own sanction of its corner stone, and our own reluctance and delay to strike at slavery.

For our government and people, instead of saying this rebellion shall at all hazards be put down, with the cause of it,—instead of throwing ourselves on God and justice, and in his name proceeding to destroy and forbid the slavery on which this rebellion is grounded, and for which the rebels fight, and which constitutes their strength by their forbearance (though if we took the right side, their weakness and destruction), have declared from the outset that they had no quarrel with slavery, and were not fighting to put down that crime, but on the contrary were ready to reward the rebellion and the rebels with the gift of their coveted slavery, renewed and guaranteed to them in perpetuity, if they would only return, submissive, into the Union.

Our foreign diplomacy has made this most pernicious impression upon the nations of Europe in several particulars: first, that there was no moral question involved in this quarrel; second, that it was a very unimportant quarrel, and temporary, an affair of sixty or ninety days; third, that when it was over, the parties concerned were all to resume the same position and rights, and all persons in the United States were to return to the same status, as before the rebellion; fourth, that the advocates of universal emancipation stand on the same ground as those who are laboring to destroy the Federal Union; and fifth, that a place in our own Congress still belongs to the rebel states, these halls being the Constitutional forum, where the alienated parties may discuss their own rights and treatment.

Thus we have descended to a level with the slaveholding states in their rebellion, and putting out of view the iniquity of slavery, as a crime which God forbids, and which no government can righteously tolerate, we have offered to receive them as slaveholding states, and to enter into a recognition of them, as a covenant with them, expressly on the ground of that recognition, and guarding for them their slavery, as being safer in the Union than out of it.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

VOL. III.—NO. 50. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1863. WHOLE NO. 154.

made the offer of the compact, and pledged the freedom of slavery and slaveholding forever, as the inducement for the rebel states to accept of it.

All this, on our part, has constituted a refusal to obey God, and a betrayal of the cause of freedom and justice, all the while that we were fighting to put down the rebellion against our own government. We have taken the sword, but refused to do the work of freedom and justice, for which alone God gives the commission of the sword. So long as we maintained that position, and refused the edict of emancipation, until it should become a necessity for our own preservation, how could we imagine that God would bless us, rendering success impossible, according to the revealed principles of his administration as the Supreme Ruler of the nations?

By the good providence of God, we possessed in our own Constitution of Government, as well as in the nature of government as ordained of God, the power and right of forbidding the possibility of the wickedness of slavery. It was and is an obligation of protection, which we are bound to fulfill in behalf of all the inhabitants of the land without respect to person. It is a central fundamental article in the Constitution, that "NO PERSON SHALL BE DEPRIVED OF LIFE, LIBERTY, OR PROPERTY, WITHOUT DUE PROCESS OF LAW." If any person or persons are so deprived, the United States Government are bound to interpose for their deliverance, no matter where, or in what state, the outrage may have been committed, and no matter what pretense or race or color may have been pretended in justification of it.

If the government deny and throw off this obligation of protection of all its subjects from such outrage, it puts itself out of the pale of God's commission, out of the category of governments ordained of God, and is itself a usurpation of power, and a rebellion against God, the power and right of freedom and justice for all persons. God has vested in our government, and has committed to us the power of the sword only for the execution of such justice; and the necessity of such justice as an attribute of God, and for the possibility of a righteous and peaceable society on earth, and the command of God to execute it, if need be, by the sword, constitute the only justification and authority for war. But justice is without respect to persons; and our own government are as much bound to defend the liberty of the colored race as of the white man; and this and other provisions make the slavery of either absolutely impossible, if the Constitution were obeyed, if both its letter and its spirit were not violated.

Yet we were fighting for more than a year and a half against the rebellion without attacking slavery; a procedure much the same as if we had gone into the battle blind-folded, and with every man's right arm broken at the shoulder blade; and when at length after more than eighteen months campaigning, the blinders were taken from our eyes, we found ourselves just where we were when we started, but with a needless sacrifice of more than 200,000 men. It cost the lives of 200,000 of our citizens, before we would admit the necessity and right of giving freedom to three millions of the subjects of our government held in slavery by the rebels.

At any time the victory would have been in our power, if we would have united our moral right and our military resources.

It is truly a wonderful exhibition of depravity, when God offers to a people the settlement of a quarrel by moral means to see them choose to fight it out rather than take the sword of justice. At the beginning of our conflict a simple declaration of the nation against slavery would have conquered the slaveholders' rebellion. When we chose war without emancipation, then God said, you shall have war; enough of it to make you thankful for emancipation; you shall have war to your hearts content, and war itself shall compel you to emancipation. You said you would not make emancipation the object of the war, but would leave slavery till after the war was over; you have now got to emancipate in order to stop the war, and you are compelled to defer the conclusion of the war, till emancipation is settled.

You said you would settle the rebellion by fighting, but God has shown you that you cannot fight without ideas, that ideas are mightier than cannon balls, and that your balls will not reach the enemy if deprived of God's moral. The rebel Quaker guns, with an idea, are better than your brass guns without one. What are your cannon balls good for, but to make a way for justice? Had you done justice, there had been no need of cannon. Compelled at length to do justice or die, the cannon became your means of justice.

You said that negroes should not be permitted to fight along with you. You have been compelled at length to ask them to fight for you, and to form themselves into regiments for that purpose. And meantime, the commander that recruited the negro race and our common humanity in ordering the United States uniform to be stripped from United States citizens because found guilty of a skin not colored like our own, has himself been set aside from his command; and whereas the same commander ordered the Hutchinsons to be expelled from the American camp on the Potomac for singing the songs of freedom, he was himself obliged, before quitting his command, to issue general orders to the whole army for obedience to the President's proclamation of emancipation.

holding South against the non-slaveholding and non-interfering North, and in progress of the rebellion and war takes more voters than in the whole party ever bound themselves not to interfere with slavery, and launches them as a thunderbolt against slavery.

They do not mean it, but God means it, and enacts it, causing the wrath of man to praise him, and restraining the remainder of wrath. The nation says, We go against the rebellion; but God says, Against Slavery. The rebellion is only God's machinery for swinging the nation as his battering ram against the mighty sin; it is God's sling in which he smites the nation, easily as David took a pebble from the brook, and after a few preparatory whiffs, dashes it as lightning into the forehead of the system.

The nation said, We will still rest and grow rich on the unpaid labour of millions of men, women, and children, bought and sold. God says, You shall pay the bill of seventy years in one, and he presents the bill, and compels the nation to pay more than three thousand millions at the first instalment; sufficient at any time to have bought up all the slaves in the United States twice over at the highest price. Non-interference is assumption of the whole sin and cruelty, and a partnership in it, and God will make the nation pay for it to the utmost.

(To be concluded.)

FROM GEN. BANKS' DEPARTMENT.

Condition of the Department.—The Planter's Convention.—A Traitor's Declaration.—Gen. Banks' Speech.—General Banks' Opposition to Negro Emancipation.—His Opposition of the Negroes.—A Rebel Noble Discard of the Soldiers.—Probabilities of a Rebel Attack.

BATON ROUGE, LA, Feb. 26, 1863.
Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.
I have just read the Tribune, of Feb. 14. In it I find this paragraph, from Washington, D. C.: "So far from there being any disaffection, in the command of Gen. Banks, as reported by the rebels, authentic information, received here, shows a directly contrary state of affairs. I am not able to affirm or deny this precise statement, for, in these regions, inaccessible by any intelligence except such as comes by steam, and even that is not reliable, the reports of disaffection are unknown to us. But a state of feeling and affairs exists, in this department, which ought to be known to a government and a people who solve themselves with the belief that everything is satisfactory to officers, and soldiers, and the loyal population."

I came into these regions indulging that belief. I walked the streets of New Orleans, for some hours, with the Bourgeois, and the inquiry made me doubt. I came up to this city, passing among the soldiers and citizens that live along the river, and giving an understanding, but no real insight, into the state of affairs. I have been favored with abundant opportunities of finding what the officer, in his quarters, the soldier, in his tent, and the seaman, in the fleet, think of the present situation. I have been favored with abundant opportunities of finding what the officer, in his quarters, the soldier, in his tent, and the seaman, in the fleet, think of the present situation.

In the first place, a planter's convention, I believe, has just been held to criticize and reform the orders of the commanding general. Under whatever harmless pretext that convention came together, it may be charitable to believe that it was for no other purpose than to see if they were not disgraced by a meeting of cowardly secessionists, who, to a large extent, and perhaps, quite generally, have perjured themselves, by an oath of allegiance to the United States, to the exact truth would be stated. I infer as much from what actually passed at the meeting.

The most malignant fire-eater spoke under the colors of the Union, and with the aid of his regulars, and his bayonets, and his streets tremble under the wheels of cannon. He therefore, was obliged to make his treason, in at least, decent and considerate terms, and to speak of his treason as a necessary evil, and to speak of his treason as a necessary evil.

I have thought it proper to make the above statements, in view of an impression that seems to me to be erroneous, which has got abroad at the North. Here I propose to leave it.

work of the clergy, in all their operations? Instead of losing life, digging deep and building on the Rock, cutting off all, even the nearest ties, how many have had their convictions eased off, and got into the church unconverted? And their pastors congratulate themselves in having done a great work for the Redeemer! I would not be uncharitable, nor overdraw the picture. If true, it explains the whole trouble, and furnishes a picture of sorrow sufficient to cause all the angels over Jerusalem. If not "born of the Spirit," how can any man think, feel, know, or act as a Christian? It is impossible. How can a teacher instruct in Grammar or Arithmetic further than he has been himself? Even so in Religion.

I said we have not struck bottom. Justice and Humanity are attributes of Heaven. Now in the midst of God's judgments, where is the church, where are the prominent men that are pleading for justice to the black man? Has 5, 10, 20, or 40 years hard toil no claims? Where are the children that God gave him? Where the wife of his bosom? Gone to the soul drivers. Where the cabin to shelter from the storm? Where the bag of corn, the peck of potatoes, the piece of meat? No mention of the claims of the "nigger." "Doth God see," "Is God wicked?" No care for justice, only to "white folks."

Not yet got through saying the man that robbed him! God's rule is this—take from the oppressor, and give to the oppressed. This is justice (See Exodus 12, 35, 36). I solemnly protest, in the name of my Maker against any such abolition of a wicked precedent, and recognizing property in man. Not struck bottom yet! No: No: far from it.

These bags of gold in Wall street, made by the sweat and blood of the innocent slave, may yet be rolled out, and all that cottonocracy and all apologists for slavery may yet taste the same bitter cup they have given. For God says, "ye have measured, so shall it be measured unto you." "He shall have judgment without mercy, that hath shown no mercy."

Deep Repentance, like David's, is the only way for deliverance. God grant we have it before we perish! Yours Truly,
ERASTUS WRIGHT.
SPRINGFIELD, Illinois, Feb. 27, 1863.

For the Principia.

SOWING THE WIND AND REAPING THE WHIRLWIND.

It is a principle in Morals, as unerring and exact as any axiom in Mathematics, that as men sow, so shall they reap. Every course of action has its appropriate result. Says the inspired Apostle: "He that sows to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption, but he that sows to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting." The principle is a hard one, and applies to nations as well as to individuals. As nations sow, so shall they reap. "Recklessness exalts a nation, but sin is the reproach of any people."

"Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord." "The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea those nations shall be utterly wasted." In the whirlwind of excitement and alarm, consequent upon the existing rebellion and war, we, as a nation, are just reaping as we have sown. We have sown the wind, and we now reap the whirlwind.

Ever since the union of these States was formed, we, as a people and a government, have not only tolerated, but sanctioned and fostered, a system of gigantic iniquity and oppression, and that in open violation of the most obvious principles of all morality and justice, and had we been left alone, we would have actually gone so far in our homage to the idol of Slavery, as to have actually incorporated the system into the Constitution of the country, making the iniquity national and perpetual, by a constitutional enactment, thus rendering it forever unconstitutional, for even the Congress of the United States to take any action toward its abolition in any of the States. This measure had actually been perfected and passed by the requisite two-thirds of both houses of Congress, and had been sent to all the States for their sanction and adoption. But, just when the cup of our iniquity was full, and before more than one of the States had taken action on the measure, the South, as if seized by madness, broke out into open rebellion, and no degradation, no abasement on the part of the North, would conciliate them. To make slavery constitutional and permanent was not even enough. They must rise in rebellion.

And in the fearful loss of life, misery and ruin, destruction of property and of trade, which the rebellion has produced, we are just reaping as we have sown. We have practiced iniquity to our ruin. We have boasted loudly of our liberty, and "spoken lightly concerning oppression." In our very bosom, as a nation, we have warmed and nourished into vitality and power the serpent of slavery; and in return for our protection and care, the monster aims at the nation's life. And shall we still stand and uphold the system? How long! O Lord, how long!

But since the outbreak of the rebellion, light has been shed upon the nation, and the eyes of the nation are beginning to see. The nation is beginning to see the error of its ways, and the nation is beginning to see the error of its ways. The nation is beginning to see the error of its ways, and the nation is beginning to see the error of its ways.

What a shipwreck of America, under the management of the forty thousand ministers! Who suppose slavery would have continued and prospered, if this Great Rebellion had been inaugurated, had there been few thousand truly converted, Godly men, in our country? Cannot all our judgments be accounted for by the superficial

SPECIAL PROPOSITIONS.

1. Old subscribers in arrears for two years, who will send us ten dollars shall be entitled to the enlarged paper to the end of the current volume, without additional charge.
2. Old subscribers in arrears for one year, who will send us five dollars, shall be entitled to the enlarged paper to the end of the current volume, without additional charge.
3. Old subscribers who have prepaid for the current year, and who will send us the name of a new subscriber with two dollars shall be entitled to the enlarged paper to the end of the volume, and one copy of "Our National Charter."
4. Two dollars for a new subscriber will pay for "The Principia" one year; and either of the following books with postage prepaid:
First, one copy of "History of Slavery and Anti-Slavery," or second, two copies of the "American Slave Code," or third, ten copies of "Our National Charter."
5. Four dollars for two new subscribers will pay for two copies of "The Principia," one year, and one copy of the "Democracy of Christianity" in two volumes, and two copies of "Our National Charter," including postage prepaid.
6. Any individual who will get up club orders for less than ten new subscribers for one year each, to be sent to one post office, may retain one dollar each for commission.
7. Each new subscriber, including those above mentioned, will be entitled to one copy of "Our National Charter" postage prepaid.

us." This cannot be done, neither can we have peace until we, as a nation, are willing to do right. Because we have not thus done this war protracted, nor will it end until this nation ceases to set at naught the Law of God and in its place establish laws in opposition to the Divine Law. My faith is weak in regard to the happy result of the war; and for this reason: I fear the leading men of our army are not working upon a right principle. In the first place they started upon the dizzy heights (as the Democrats deemed it) of the Republican platform, which said "we have nothing to do with slavery in the States, but they supply our nation's ruin start them so plainly in the face, that they were led to see that, high as there platform was, it was far too low to stand upon in the nineteenth century. Consequently, they were led to make a leap upon a higher platform—that of interfering with slavery in the States, provided the slaves were held by rebel masters. They have bravely fought with some success, and this they think is the extent of their power, and the doing their whole duty. Yet the war is not closed, nor peace restored to our borders, nor will it be until this nation ascends upon the Radical platform, which is as high as Heaven and as enduring as Eternity. This platform and this alone has for its foundation, truth, justice and the Golden Rule: and on it is written these words—"The Laws of God are paramount to the laws of man, and therefore should and must be obeyed, before we can be that peaceful and happy nation whose God is the Lord."

Oh, that I could sound in the ears of every voter in the land these words—"when you go to the ballot box do right by voting for just rulers who will rule in the fear of God." Then God will bless us, and fight our battle for us, or enable one to chase a thousand, and two to put ten thousand to flight.

Friend Goodell, I am happy to say that your views are gaining favor in the minds of the people, and to I would say, and to all who are laboring to bring about the happy day of universal freedom—be not discouraged, but continue to scatter the seeds of truth, and God will bless you and your posterity, by causing the seeds to vegetate and bring forth the fruits of joy and gladness.
Yours as ever,
Geo. W. JACKMAN.

For the Principia.

RADICALISM NO REPROCH.

Radicalism—Can you enlighten me—and I am selfish enough to cause that ignorance upon the same subject more or less prevalent—why the term radical, applied to individuals, parties, sects, or creeds, is by so many deemed an approbrious epithet?

The Herald, World, Express, Journal of Commerce, and I might, I presume, consistently add the N. Y. Observer, with others, thus regard it; advocating, as they do, a moral and physical impossibility, namely: that of restoring a sick patient to perfect, or even tolerable health, without the application of remedies for the removal of the cause of illness—without eradicating the disease; of rendering corruption, not a means but an end to purity; of curing a cancer by nursing the ulcer that produces it; of healing a wound by the application of virulent cataplasms; of forming and perpetuating a government, free and independent, of equal rights, protection and emolument to its subjects where one seventh of the citizens are chattel slaves. These dismenstrations are of such egregious and transparent fallacies, are using the weapon radical, as though it were a two-edged sword, and appear to deem their controversial antagonists entirely demolished when they fling the epithet at him. I "can't see it."

If there is any quality for which I esteem a man, or party, it is that of being radical—embracing first principles. Is not the most notable instance of radicalism the just and immutable law of God Himself? The moral principles inculcated by the teachings of the Evangelists are the extreme of radicalism.

True, the time has been, during our brief political history, when compromises were popular. I might say politically fashionable, and conservative. But as we cannot be compounded of good and evil, and as we cannot be a compromise between the good and the evil, we must be either good or evil, and as we cannot be a compromise between the good and the evil, we must be either good or evil.

All this is very sorrowful. Is there hope that in the week which will elapse, before it sees the light, the news will be better?

It is wonderful how a game may be spoiled, by a single move. The game of the world is now being spoiled, by a single move. The game of the world is now being spoiled, by a single move.

No force of white men can carry on war in a hot country, without at least an equal force of country militia to help. The babes who present to campaign in the Southern States will find this out in time; with the addition that, the only side that admitted of aid, the Lost Battles must be their teachers; misfortune is the only tonic for their case. Everybody knows what and what it must come to; but good blood will be shed like water, first.

THE FOUNDATION OF PEACE.

Editor Principia.—What are the signs of the times? I look into the future with dark foreboding. Previous to the last Presidential election the Republican and Democratic parties were down on the Radicals, and for this reason: They said to "as you elect a Radical President we shall surely have war, but" insisted the Republicans, "if you will help us to elect our man (having accomplished just as much as you will (with reference to putting down slavery) without war." Many believed this, but alas! to their sorrow they have learned that time is the greatest truth-teller.

It has shown to them that we have been plunged into one of the most cruel and heartless of wars. And for what are we fighting? To undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free? Ah! I fear not, but to restore the Union as it was.

For the Principia.

A SOLDIER IN VIRGINIA.

ARMY CORRESPONDENT.
HEADQUARTERS, 1ST BRIG., 3D DIV. 1ST A. C. I., FORT MONROE, VIRGINIA, Nov. 5, 1862.
MESSRS. EDITORS.—Since I last wrote you have left Washington, and reported for duty in longer informal way of what is going on at our national capital, but, perhaps, I can give you something of interest from this new situation.

In the first place, a description of the surface and appearance of the country, may not be out of place. The first thing that strikes the eye of the traveller, as he steps upon this portion of Virginia, is the general appearance of desolation, everywhere. There are very few houses to be seen; fences have been all destroyed; old corn fields are now used only as highways, camps, and drill grounds. The beautiful scenery that used to be seen covered with stumps and brush, and, perhaps, the tents or huts of the soldier. The next feature is the mud, which is always to be found here in profusion, at this time of year. The soil here, is composed entirely of sand, and is very quickly affected by wet weather and travelling.

The whole appearance of the country shows it to be one on which the curse of God is resting. But, desolate as everything appears, this section is far from being without interest to the lover of science.

The country, here, is characterized by a general surface of moderate elevation, cut up by innumerable ravines and water courses. These little hills seem to be all underlain by a solid bed of fossil remains of several feet in thickness, showing a vast variety of shells, fishes, and other inhabitants of the deep, in a petrified state. It is probable that there is more than one of these beds. The one I have noticed is plainly exposed to view, by the watercourses, in some of the ravines. The quantities of these living crea-

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tures must have been immense, as they seem, in places, to form the body of the rock—only sand enough to them to cement them together. In some places the formation of the rock is incomplete, and they are imbedded in the loose sand. Such a section of country would certainly afford a rich field for the mind of a high Miller.

In few places can more be seen of God's wonderful works of working—creating, and again destroying the work of his hands, in order to carry on some grand work of his Providence. Here we see millions of living creatures that have been brought into existence, and then destroyed, in order to fill the earth's surface for a higher race of beings. And now, on the same soil, we see human life sacrificed, to prepare the country for the enjoyment of higher social and political relations, still carrying out of God's great plan.

These sandy hills form very convenient foundations for the soldiers' winter quarters, which are generally formed by selecting a site on the hill side, and digging a level floor, which is considerably below the surface, at the upper side. At this side a fire place is generally cut, and a small chimney formed of sticks and mortar, and by setting up a barrel with both heads knocked out. A hut is then formed of logs or poles, according to the fancy of the architect. A rude bunk is constructed of poles, and covered with pine or cedar branches, for a bed. The roof is composed of shavings kind of tents the soldiers may be supplied with, or, in the absence of tents, with rubber.

There is a pretty good pro-slavery element, in this part of the army, which I think is, in a great measure, owing to the character of reading circulated among them. The "Herald" is distributed in immense numbers, and many seem to take its teachings as pure gospel.

The weather has been fine for a few days, and the mud is drying up. Old soldiers are beginning to fear another movement on Fredericksburg. Those who have been out any length of time, are now very keen for fighting. And why should they be, when they have fought so many hard battles, and gained so few real victories? May a better day soon dawn for the Army of the Potomac, is the hope of

religious men either allowable or possible. There never was a time when the public conscience was more disturbed, or when it was more necessary that moral principles in their bearing on national conduct should be clearly presented.

Well would it have been for the Churches, for the Ministry, and for the Nation, if this position had been taken, thirty years ago, in respect to the great moral evil out of which this terrible war so naturally if not necessarily sprang. The first principles of Religion and Morality applied to slavery, in due season, might have averted the calamitous effect, which has removed the guilty cause.

II. MORAL RIGHT—NOT EXPEDIENCY—THE BINDING RULE OF NATIONAL ACTION.

In close connection with the truly Christian and Orthodox Testimony, just recorded, we have an equally decided and timely repudiation of that anti-ethical doctrine of expediency and expediency which is every earnest effort for Christian Reform. In every day, has been called to contend.

In the first place, the great principle that the moral law, the will of God however revealed, binds nations as well as individuals, needs to be so exhibited and enforced as to secure its practical recognition. It must be taught that it is a principle which is not to be ignored, but which is to be followed in all our actions, but the people in their judgments, proceed on the assumption that expediency is the only rule to guide the conduct of nations. The only rule to guide the conduct of nations, is the moral law, the will of God, which is the wisdom, not the morality, of a given measure. How will it affect this or that interest is carefully considered, and the decision is suspended on this calculation of probabilities. Whether it be consistent or inconsistent with the law of God, is not taken into consideration. Of course, in extreme cases, ignoring the morality of actions is impossible. No nation can openly advocate murder, treachery or theft. Nevertheless it is true, to a lamentable extent, that public measures are adopted and estimated, as a general thing, by the rule of expediency, to the disregard or neglect of the law of God. Indeed, according to a scheme of ethics which for many years has been taught extensively in Europe and America, there is no higher principle of action than expediency.

Right and wrong are words without specific meaning. That is right which promotes our own happiness, say some, or the happiness of the community, say others; and that is wrong which has a contrary tendency. Apart from the degrading character of this theory, it is obvious that the decision of the question, what the operation of a given measure will be, is often one which the widest range of experience and the greatest sagacity are unable to answer, whereas its moral character a child may determine with certainty and in a moment. Expediency, so far as all moral questions are concerned, is not only a wrong rule of action, but one which can lead neither to certainty nor unanimity. It will be a great national benefit, if the people of this country should be rescued by the trials through which we are now passing, and their political and ecclesiastical dependence upon him, and their obligation to make his will their rule of action as a nation. If this war should burn into the consciousness of the people that what is wrong never can be expedient, we shall not have suffered in vain.

As we are happily agreed with the *Principia* Review, in its starting point, it will give us great pleasure to accompany it through the whole journey, provided it will adhere to the principles which it commences. But if we find it running in a diametrically opposite direction, we shall be compelled to part company with it, and must be permitted to point out its want of consistency with its own creed.

Every reader and hearer of anti-slavery discussions, for thirty years past, will recognize, in the preceding extract, from the *Principia* Review, a clear and unequivocal assertion of the foundation principle upon which radical abolitionists, so-called, have planted themselves, from the very beginning of their enterprise, and to which they have perseveringly adhered, in despite of reproach and persecution, to the present day. The whole gist of the controversy between them and their opponents, political and ecclesiastical, has centered in this point. That the system of slavery, as it exists in this country, is a great moral evil (we quote from the article under review) has almost universally been conceded to them. But it has been pleaded that, under the circumstances that exist, great mischiefs would arise from its immediate abolition, and therefore it was inexpedient to abolish it, or even to agitate the subject. That slaveholding is not, in all cases, sinful, has been confidently maintained, on the very same ground. Few have ventured to deny that the practice is "wrong in the abstract." But to insist upon the abstract right, against the dictates of expediency, has been almost universally condemned as fanatical, impracticable, visionary, and destructive. The paragraph just quoted, says, truly, that "according to a scheme of ethics, which for many years, has been taught extensively in Europe and America, there is no higher principle of action than expediency."—Radical abolitionists, so far as the slavery question is concerned, have stood alone in refusing to act upon that scheme of ethics. If the *Principia* theologians have been, during the same time—as we think they have—theoretically opposed to that scheme, then we have a right to demand of them, to demand of those theologians that they should show their faith, by their works, by placing themselves alongside of us, in our measures, which are only the uncompromising results of their own theory.—When they do this, they will abandon all schemes of colonization, compensation, and gradualism, which are all founded on expediency and will demand the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, a measure undeniably demanded by the dictates of justice and eternal right. This they must, of necessity, do, or abandon, at this point, their high-toned orthodox theology, or else they must take the ultra Southern ground that slavery is right in the abstract, an institution of God, for the benefit of mankind, whether black or white, whether at the North or the South. On this "men must take sides"—they must speak out—silence is impossible. On the slavery question, as truly as on the war question, there are but two sides, and on one side or the other, every man must take his stand.

THE ISSUE IN THE PRESENT WAR.

The war question is nothing more nor less than the slavery question, viewed from the arena of discussion to that of arms. Slavery said—"Give me extension: give me control." Anti-slavery said—"Whereupon, slavery may war upon anti-slavery. This is the sole issue. On the one side, it is a war against anti-slavery. If, on the other side, the war is not yet against slavery, then the real issue is yet undecided. The war is carried on, only by one of the parties. Such, until quite recently, has been, apparently, the fact. As such it has been regarded by Europeans, and hence the hesitancy to award to us a higher moral or political position than our enemies. Just in proportion as we approximate towards meeting the true issue, by making our war a war for justice, humanity, and liberty, just in that proportion, and no further, does our cause take hold of the conscience and the heart of Christendom. Every fresh arrival from Europe brings to us fresh evidence of this. Whoever else may marvel at it, the theologians of the Biblical Repository and *Principia* Review can, certainly, have no just cause to marvel. They have opened their discussion of the War question, by laying down, at the outset, a principle of religion and morality that necessitates this judgment. They have protested against ignoring the morality of public measures, and against the shaping of them "by the rule of expediency, to the disregard or the neglect of the law of God." Whether they have prosecuted their investigation in conformity with their own high principles of absolute moral-right, or whether, at the great practical point, on which the destinies of the nation are suspended, "the scheme of ethics which for many years has been taught extensively in Eu-

rope and America" has crept within the sacred enclosures of *Principia*—will be seen, as we proceed further.

THE SOUTHERN GALE BREAKING.

"THE NORTHERN REACTION" SUBSIDING.

Our condolence is due to the New York Observer on the unmistakable signs that "the Great Northern Reaction," of which it considers the late sermon of Rev. Albert Barnes "the most remarkable index," is on the decline, and running out, as rapidly as it had set in. It reminds us of the outburst of the waters of the Narragansett, after the terrible southerly gale and inundation of Providence, R. I., in 1815, which left large ships high and dry in the streets and on the common, half a mile or more from the harbor. Already we think we can see, in prospect, the kindred black bulks of stranded demagogues, semi-traders, and their ecclesiastical backers, sponsors, and god-fathers in a similar predicament. It will cost more to get them out, and float again, after the southerly gale is over, than it would take to build better craft anew. The last thing that could be done with many of them would be—as was done in 1815—to put them up at auction to the highest bidder, to be broken up for the bolts, spars, copper and fuel that can be got out of, or off from them. They were respectable vessels enough, in their day, freighted, sometimes, with rich cargoes, and had carried clothing, sustenance, and fire-sides of families, had been crowded with joyous passengers, had earned princely fortunes for their owners—demagogues and bank-stock. But their day was over. They were wrecked. The most of them, as lying snug in the harbor, were uninsured. One of them, however, all ready for sea, had been insured a few hours before, at the Washington Insurance Office, whose tall brick edifice overlooked the channel of the river by the Great Bridge. A Leviathan of a ship she was, but she broke loose from her fastenings, in the southerly gale, as some great ships do, now a days, under similar influences, rushing recklessly with the tide, till, striking the breakers, it gave way, her bow-springs, in mockery of her policy of insurance, staying in the upper story of her Insurance office, and bringing up at the distant head of the Cove, where she laid her bones. We have been trying to recall her name. It may not have been the "Neymour," but that name is somehow suggested to us by the memory of her fate.

Let all great-ship-owners, ship-masters, and insurers take warning in this time of our nation's great southerly gale. Many great ships will be stranded, and their political and ecclesiastical Insurance Office will be liable to have their upper stories broken in, saddling them with the cost of their own ruin, as well as with the loss of the clumsy, unmanageable craft they have insured. The trouble with the transatlantic shipping of the North, in 1815, was the influence upon them of the great southerly gale. So it is with our transatlantic Democracy now. Dreadful was the destruction caused by the former—worse destruction is now making by the latter, but in neither case irreparable. Southerly gales do not last always, and the race of craft unmoored and driven in a panic by them, is soon run.

Dwelling houses, warehouses, counting houses, banks were alike flooded, overwhelmed and broken in pieces. The underpinnings of some churches standing on low ground, or "made land," were swept away, and the worshippers were obliged to screw them up to their place again, and clean away the sea-shine from their pews and pulpit stairs. In one instance, a church near the wharves of commerce, and with a southerly exposure, was swept entirely away, and the fragments strewn for a mile in distance. Much do we mistake, if the present southerly gale leaves our churches of the North in better plight, needing less cleansing, shining, and rebuilding.

The gale of 1815, in Providence, soon reached its height, fulfilled its mission, and then suddenly broke. The sun shone out brightly, the waters receded, the north-westerly breeze blew sweetly. The people went cheerily to work, and built up their city, enlarged, and improved, more beautiful than ever. No traces of the southerly gale are seen there now.

"Great northerly reactions," it be henceforth understood, are only the destructive and lawless drifts before the force of a southerly gale, of those portions of northern society that always have been adrift, with difficulty kept to their moorings, and accustomed to go wherever the winds blow them. When the gale breaks, or the wind shifts, they are always ready to change their course, and will do so, unless they find themselves plump ashore, high and dry, broken or stranded.

Mariners navigating our coast have a maxim that sharp southerly gales never last long, and the more spitefully they pipe it, the sooner they are over.

Adventurers, speculators, and under-writers would do well to take notice, and not risk too much by running too close, especially near the close of the gale. Ships adrift, out of their places, knocking down houses, and doing damage, are sometimes scuttled or sunk by their owners, pilots, or the public authorities, to save lives and prevent further destruction. Such cases, we think, occurred in the gale of 1815, and not all the Delmonico-Fifth-avenue-Copperhead-Committees in Gotham can prevent similar accidents in 1862, unless they can contrive to keep their unwieldy hulks better moored than some of them recently have been. If some of the political magicians and weather-men, who, for thirty years past, have been courting the southerly breezes, and watching the weather vane, should find that they have been sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind, it would be no great marvel. Times of great southerly gales are difficult and dangerous times for kite-flying, especially for kites bearing the stripes and stars of the rebel flag.

PERFIDY AND INQUITY OF THE PROPOSED COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY.

The country is filled with perplexing and painful rumors of an intended compromise and peace. Meantime, President Lincoln keeps in power at his right hand, the diplomatist who announced at the outset of this conflict that the rebel states would return into the Union on the same slaveholding rights with which they went out of it, and that the status of every person would be the same at the close of the conflict as before. Is this plan now to be acted on? Mr. Seward is known to have been opposed to the policy of emancipation. His despatches abroad prove this. He is now rumored that the proclamation of emancipation is to be a nullity, and that the rebel states are to be invited back into the Union with their slavery as before, and themselves supreme over it. They will thus have gained by this rebellion a new guarantee of their slavery by the United States Government, and we shall have lost honor, faith, name, place, except as a conquered nation, a scoffing and a by-word of injustice, hypocrisy, cowardice, a nation of moral poltroons.

It is possible that such iniquity and treachery as this can be in contemplation? Alas, there are too many things that look like it; that look as if our government were not only half-hearted in this war, but willing to be half-better, willing not to conquer so far as to make the rebels as little as possible, willing to spare their slavery as much as possible, willing to save the Union as much as possible, that he is willing to prolong the war indefinitely on our part, till the people shall be

weary of it, and despairing of success, shall accept of Mr. Seward's plan of settlement, with slavery supreme. That the government are perfectly willing to sacrifice the slaves for the sake of the Union we have their own assurance. We have President Lincoln's repeated assurance that the policy of Emancipation is a dire necessity, and consequently, as no oath on compulsion is supposed to be not obligatory, the Government may be supposed to have issued the proclamation of freedom with a perfect right to take it back, and return the slaves into slavery, the moment the necessity is removed, under which their freedom was covenanted.

Many persons believe that this proclamation was only a *ruse de guerre*, a stratagem to be tried, the last card of a desperate gambler, the throw of loaded dice, a measure to be disavowed, the moment the necessity or expediency of its adoption had passed away. It was reluctantly issued; and nothing has been done to give it efficacy; thus the argument against it of its inefficacy, has been provided for its opponents to urge; and now it is maintained that it has no binding force, that the Government is not bound to fulfill the President's edict of freedom.

It is said that this plan of treachery to the blacks, to humanity, and to God, is the plan of our Government, under the inspiration of Mr. Seward, and that measures are in preparation for the carrying it out. What will the nations of Europe say to this perfidy? Their sympathies, gained by false pretences, will be turned into abhorrence of our guilt and shame. What will the Great Governor of the nations say and do? This perfidy will be our perdition. We are utterly destroyed as a nation, if we do not fulfil our own public and solemn covenant of freedom to the enslaved.

A UNION PROPOSED AGAINST FREEDOM.

At the Union League Meeting on Saturday evening, in the Academy of Music, Gov. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, closed a speech of nearly two hours' duration, by avowing his utter devotion to the maintenance of the Union, come what, come woe, with slavery, or without slavery.

The Editor of the *Tribune* proposes the same conclusion, with slavery, if necessary, notwithstanding the proclamation of freedom, which, not regarded as binding, but may be withdrawn, as a mere scare-crowd set up by a farmer in his corn-field, not intended to keep out, as the citizens of the Union, any but the blacks. The rebels may be received back into possession of the Union with entire sovereignty over their own slavery, and may re-enslave those whom the President of the United States has declared free. The Editor of the *Tribune*, of Monday the 16th, argues that even if every slave now held in Georgia, were actually set free, and Georgia, having returned to loyalty, and been again recognized as an equal member of the Union, should proceed to reduce them once more to slavery, nothing could be done by the government to prevent it. Georgia would have the supreme sovereign right of such slavery, indefeasible!

The proclamation of freedom to the slaves, promising to protect their freedom forever, is held by this writer to be, so far as their freedom is concerned, a farce. He maintains that if the rebels should to-morrow come back into the Union, they could instantly renege the laws under which they now hold as slaves those whom the Head of our government has declared to be free men, and could hold and treat them again as slaves, and nothing could be done to prevent such a crime, it being the right of the State to enact and establish it. The State can nullify an edict of the Federal Government, and the government has no right to interfere to prevent it. This is worse than secession, it is giving up to the undisputed sovereignty of the rebels the very right for the greater perpetration of slavery which they have rebelled, and sacrificing to that sovereignty all right of supremacy on the part of the United States over the allegiance of its own citizens.

Notwithstanding the Proclamation of the President, declaring and establishing the freedom of all the slaves in Georgia, for example, the Editor of the *Tribune* maintains that the President could not constrain that State to treat those slaves as free. Of course, that State, and any State, has the right to nullify a decree of the United States, simply by passing laws of its own in opposition to it. If any State sees fit to make slaves of any class of its citizens, and chooses to treat them as such, the government of the United States has no power nor right to prevent it!

This is a new theory of what constitutes a republican government. If by subject of any Foreign Government were enslaved by State-law, it is the *Tribune's* argument that that government could interfere, and the Federal Government would be bound and compelled to interfere at the command of the Foreign Government, notwithstanding such State-law. But for a subject and citizen of our own government, our own government would have no right to interfere! This is truly grand and noble!

We have treaties, it is said, with Foreign Governments, but we have none with our own citizens; no engagement of protection; nothing to justify our preventing them from being made slaves.

Is the decree of our government constituting its own citizens free men, any less binding than a treaty with a foreign government? Are not the laws of the United States government, in respect to its own citizens, as supreme over State Constitutions and laws, as Foreign Treaties?

The Constitution of the United States and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, are declared to be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Are promises to Foreign Governments under the title of treaties, any more binding or supreme, as the law of the land, than public and solemn treaties of freedom and protection to our own citizens?

We fear that all this is but the introduction to a vast act of perfidy and cruelty on the part of our government, in a compromise with slavery for the sake of the Union. We fear that the intention is to prepare the way for a withdrawal and nullification of the Proclamation of freedom, as of no worth, and no obligation whatever. This fear is but increased by the following paragraphs from the *World* newspaper, on Union Leagues, and War-meetings.

"What most challenges attention in the current history of our politics," the Editor says, "is the systematic and comprehensive attempt, making by the administration, to cover its forced retreat from emancipation as a war measure." Again, "One of the natural consequences of the proclamation was the development of a peace feeling, of which the administration, with more than its usual adroitness, is seeking to avail itself, to escape the contempt and derision which it has incurred by its breaking down the purpose of these multitudinous war-meetings, and so-called Union leagues is to divert the administration to speak out of a position which the lapse of time has rendered ridiculous. The small body of peace men which that foolish policy has developed in the Democratic party, is availing itself of the opportunity, by breaking down the Republican to step in and steal planks from the Democratic platform, to mend their own shattered structure."

"We are glad if the administration has resented its emancipation policy; but an open, manly recantation would be more honorable than sneaking out of it under deceitful pretences."

GEN. BANKS, AND THE GOVERNMENTAL ESTABLISHMENT OF SLAVERY IN NEW ORLEANS.

Qui facit per alium, facit per se. He who does a thing by his agent, does it himself. And the motive and purpose of an agency are determined by the conduct of the agent. The object of the master, or the government, or the merchant, comes out in the doings of the servant, the messenger, the supercargo. If a man appointed by our government for a special object, is seen taking his command in the province to which he was appointed, and proceeding to re-establish slavery there, it is good and conclusive proof, unless the government instantly recall him, that the instructions from the government were that he should accomplish that very thing. If Gen. Banks throws back the negroes of Louisiana into slavery, this is proof positive that the Administration intended he should do this.

Now, we saw lately an account of a public sale of slaves in New Orleans: the price that the poor creatures brought was added, and this slave-market was opened, and this slave-trade driven, within our military lines, on soil occupied by our troops, held and governed by our government. Such atrocities as these, are far worse than they ever were before the rebellion. They make our government a slaveholding and slave-trading government, and our nation a nation of men-stealers, as go-between and pandars. This being permitted, winked at, under Banks and Shepley at New Orleans, the United States become slave traders.

Under Gen. Banks' method, this government, our government, the government of the United States, is as truly a slave-trading government, as that of the rebel Confederacy. Only, under the rebel Confederacy, the privilege of slave-trading is common to all, without money and without price. But our government offer it as a reward for loyalty. Whoever is loyal to our government, may exercise the blessed privilege of trading in human flesh, may own a stall in this market, and be a master butcher of human rights. What the government of Jeff. Davis grants to all, as a privilege of universal commerce, not a monopoly, our government sets up for sale, and proposes as a bribe for loyalty.

Our government trades off its loyalty; the government of Jeff. Davis sells its slaves. Our government commissions a crime for the sake of the loyalty of the criminal. The government of the rebels establishes the crime as a universal virtue, and punishes disloyalty with death, but does not attempt to buy up the loyalty of its subjects with the privilege of crime, *acknowledged* as the crime. The rebels defend it as a virtue, and an article of piety, and are proud of it. We denounce it as a crime, and are full of wrath if any man accuses us of not hating it, or of believing in its righteousness, and we call upon all the world to help our side in this fight, because slavery is such a wicked thing, and the rebels are fighting for slavery; and yet, we sustain and establish it as a right and privilege of loyal men, we hold it out as an inducement for them to save their loyalty, because thereby they can thus save their slave-property; we preserve and guarantee it to them, as a monopoly of merchandise in human flesh, to be owned and managed by loyalists alone, under insurance of perpetual protection by the United States government, and the subjects of such cruelty are persons set free by the rebellion, according to the enactments even of our own Congress, but now re-enslaved by our forces under martial law! Magnificent spectacle of hypocrisy and despotism!

Harper's Monthly for March contains an illustrated article on Continental money, the continuation of "A Californian in Ireland," continued of "Romans," by the Author of Adam Bede, "Meditations of Field and Meadow," the conclusion of "Dr. Huxley," the first part of a new tale—"For Better or for Worse"—"European Servants," "After Vicksburg" (a poem), "Mrs. Henderson's Anniversary," "Little Jenny" (a poem), "Our Prophets," "Quam," "Lemonade versus the 'Elsie Vaile'" (a poem), continuation of "The Small House at Allington," "Dead" (a poem)—Together with the usual budget of "Current Events," "Editor's Easy Chair," and "Editor's Drawer."

Mrs. Demorest's Mirror of fashions for Spring, contains a quantity of information concerning hats, dresses, sleeves, and what not—a full pattern of a "Matinee," or "combination jacket and cape"—a picture of Mrs. Gen. Tom Thumb in her reception dress—and a very sensible article on "Fashionable Coarseness."

For the Principia.

STATE LAWS SUPREME.

"Were the Rebel States to say to the Federal Government to-morrow, 'Withdraw your Proclamation of Freedom, and we will each return to loyalty, elect members to the next Congress, and fulfill every constitutional obligation,' we hold that the President would be at perfect liberty to accept the offer, if he saw fit, taking care that every one, whether white, black, or of mixed blood, who had adhered to and served the Union in the struggle, should be shielded from persecution thereafter. But that he could constrain the State of Georgia, or any other State, persistently to retain, within her own boundaries and jurisdiction, persons as free whom she chose to regard as slaves, is not evident to us. If he might, some one can say under what provision of the Federal Constitution."—*N. Y. Tribune*, March 16.

We will give our neighbor the information called for, and quote from the Constitution, "Art. IV, Sec. 4," which reads thus: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union, a Republican form of Government, and shall protect them against invasion," &c., and "against domestic violence."

The President has taken a solemn oath before earth and heaven to support the Constitution. Is he to trample the Constitution under foot as the rebels have done, falsify his oath, let Georgia ride rough shod over the nation, and allow State enactments against freedom to usurp the place of Constitutional law? Is slavery to be a law with a "republican form of government"? Is the proclamation of freedom all a sham fight with slavery? Have the free states furnished a million of men and a thousand millions of dollars, merely to enable the Executive to obtain the loyalty of the rebel states by purchase, and re-enslave three millions of men, women and children, as the price? We do not so read the convictions of the people, though politicians may work ever so hard to carry out that scheme.

PUBLISHERS' CORRESPONDENCE.

We give this week, a few more extracts from our business letters, as cheering evidence that the *Principia* is appreciated wherever it is taken and read.

No. 1. A subscriber from Illinois, sends his annual subscription, and adds, "You may set me down as a life subscriber, for I could not do without the *Principia*, as a religious and political paper, as long as I can get enough to get it with."

No. 2. An agent in Iowa, having sent us a second list of new subscribers, adds, "The gentlemen that have received your paper, are extremely well pleased with it. They did not think there was such a paper printed in the country, and they think its principles are the only foundation on which the nation can stand, and finally deliver us from our present difficulties. Every friend of the paper is doing all he can to increase its circulation, and we expect to forward you, from time to time, new subscribers."

No. 3. "I have taken the *Principia* from the first; and have been greatly profited by it; so that I do not see how I can do without it. I value it more highly than any other paper published in our country. I would that it could be sent broadcast over the country, as the rebel sheets are, so that it might counteract their bad influence."

No. 4. "I believe in the principles you advocate, and hope to see them embraced by all. Then will we have a Government founded upon a rock."

No. 5. A subscriber in Ohio, sends us six dollars for the *Principia*, and adds: "I can't keep house without the *Principia*. I have taken the Radical Abolitionist, or *Principia*, eight or nine years." He then gives a list of his text books, the first of which is the Bible—one of which is the *Principia*—but the others we leave out, lest the classification should make some of our contemporaries feel bad.

No. 6. An agent, who has sent us more than twenty new subscribers, says, in regard to the *Principia*: "I like its bold, outspoken manner, in dealing with wrong and error. Would to God that all public journals were as fearless of speaking the truth as the *Principia*, and as determined that nothing but the truth should be spoken, and then we should soon see a different state of things in the moral world."

No. 7. "I believe in the doctrines which your paper inculcates with regard to slavery, though until the first gun was fired at Sumpter, I was of the opinion that the general government had no power to interfere with it in any of the States; that it could abolish it only in the District of Columbia, and prevent its extension in any of the Territory belonging to the United States. But from the firing of the first gun, I have deemed it the duty of the government to abolish it in every State or Territory, and not leave a vestige of it ever to curse our fair land again. This sentiment I think is gaining in the public mind, though it is so hard to root out long fostered prejudices against the colored man, that it gains but slowly to what I could wish to see it. Still I think this war is surely though slowly wearing away this prejudice, and ere it closes, I expect to see it wholly obliterated. Heaven grant that the rebellion may be speedily crushed out, our country and our Union saved, whole and entire, and Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness be awarded and guaranteed to all, of whatever race, color, nation, or condition. Then may we in humble faith pray, with a confident assurance of being heard, for the blessing of Heaven on our beloved country. And then will it be indeed what it has only hitherto been in name—the refuge of the oppressed—The Land of the Free!"

THE NEWS.

NOTES AND HINTS—EDITORIAL.

The Cotton trade.—A year ago there was a great clamor in England, in favor of recognizing the Southern Confederacy and opening the blocked ports, because the English manufacturers must be supplied with American Cotton. But large shipments of cotton are now made from Liverpool to New York!

The Paper monopoly.—Congress was asked to take off the duties on printing paper, so that the exorbitant prices might be reduced with some reasonable bounds. Secretary Chase, in reply to inquiries, informed Congress that under the present duties (35 per cent) very little revenue was derived from it. He believed that a reduction to 10 per cent would so encourage importation as to increase the revenue. The least that Congress should have done, would have been to make that reduction. But no. The "protective" policy must be maintained. The *N. Y. Tribune*, as the remaining organ of the "protective" policy, lent a cold shoulder to the petitions for free trade in paper. It would "prevent the new importations for manufacturing paper out of wood," and so Congress only reduced the duty to 20 per cent, at which rate it is not probable that much paper will be imported, or much reduction of the price of paper, or much revenue secured; while the mass of the people, who want cheap books and cheap newspapers, must continue to pay whatever tax the paper-makers see fit to impose upon them. But, no matter! The principle of "protection" has been preserved inviolate. The paper making capitalists banded together by an Association, are "protected" in their monopoly, and what more can be asked?

Query.—Whether this "protective tariff" was carried by the same appliances that carried the protective tariff of 1827?

The Railroad monopoly in New Jersey. It is well known that railroad travel through New Jersey, under a chartered monopoly, is taxed, heavily, without proportionate speed to transit and accommodation for passengers. Mr. Sumner proposed, in Congress, a national railroad between Washington and New York. But the "protective" policy again prevailed, and the bill was defeated. The next thing we hear is that the Railroad monopolists of New Jersey are besieging their State Legislature for an extension of their monopoly.

The election in New Hampshire results in making no choice of a Governor, but a Republican Legislature is elected, who can choose one. Sad comfort for the Delmonico Copperheads who so freely contributed their money, to carry the Granite State.

Emancipation meetings are multiplying in England, at a great rate. Is it not time to inaugurate similar movements here? Why are the friends of freedom so dilatory?

The Detroit mob.—The *World*, in speaking of the Detroit mob against the colored people, says, "It throws a sudden and lurid light upon one of the already accomplished crimes of the existing war, which thoughtful men should pause and ponder well. It reveals, and in a terrible fashion, the depth and bitterness of the hatred which is fast growing up in the hearts of the masses of the northern and western people against the negro race."

Just as though this hatred had originated in the war.

"At the North the ignorant and unthinking have come to identify the negro with all the misfortunes of the war. It is idle to attempt to show them that the negro is more sinned against than sinning; that it is the negro's master and not the negro himself through whom these great sorrows and trials have been brought upon us."

Who are responsible for this ignorance and thoughtlessness, but such persons as the *World*, that are continually defaming the negro and his friends? In the same article the negro and his charges upon them—not on its own associates, the infamous proceedings at Detroit.

Bad Councilors.—It is said that Thurlow Weed and Ex-Gov. Morgan (now U. S. Senator) are pressing upon President Lincoln the restoration of Gen. McClellan to his old command. Secretary Seward is supposed to be at the bottom of the movement.

The Revolution in Poland appears to have assumed a serious aspect. Fifty thousand Poles under arms, Prussia interfering against them, with a prospect that England and France will favor them. European nations thus occupied, can increase its circulation, and we expect to forward you, from time to time, new subscribers."

The Constitution and Liberty.—"The constitution, as it stands, secures to the people of each state a republican government; that is, a government founded on popular liberty. It secures to the slaveholders the right to own slaves, and to the free states no doubt, that they have an opportunity of effecting their revolution without our interference."—*N. Y. Evening Post*.

Does the Post mean what it says? Does it mean that the Constitution secures to the people of each state a republican government founded on popular liberty—the liberty of all the inhabitants? It must mean this, or its words are a mockery. If the Constitution does not secure the liberties of all, how can it be shown that it secures the liberties of any? Do the words make any distinction.

The Cooper Institute meeting.—Already the pro-slavery *Herald* is boasting that the amalgamation meeting, at Cooper Institute was a using up of the radical republicans.

"Poor Greeley has been quite conservative since. Bryant's articles in the *Post* are calm and sweet as his poetry. Mayor Gillette has written another veto. Dudley Field has contributed to the *Herald* explaining that he is not a seceder, but a seceder from the administration. Why, at this rate Van Buren and Fremont will bring the whole niggerhead party under the conservative banner before long!"—*Herald*, March 11.

Again, "When we see such radical republicans as Mayor Oplike, Bryant, the poet, and Wendell Phillips, consenting to be instructed by the Cooper Institute as to the true war policy of the government and the people by such old democrats as John Van Buren, George D. Briggs, and James T. Brady, we feel satisfied that the abolition programme is beginning to be recognized as a deplorable failure, and that an abolition crusade with nothing to be gained but the destruction of the party persisting in it."—*Id.*

The Loyal National League.—The following is the pledge, in circulation by the combined forces of Oplike, Bryant, Greeley, Van Buren, Dally and Brady, since their election, at the Cooper Institute.

"We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, hereby associate ourselves under the name and title of the Loyal National League. We pledge ourselves to maintain our loyalty to the government of the United States to the end of the war, and to support the measures adopted by the government to suppress the rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain the national unity, both in principle and territorial boundary."

